1	UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT WESTERN DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN
2	SOUTHERN DIVISION
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4	YOUNG AMERICANS FOR LIBERTY AT KELLOGG COMMUNITY COLLEGE,
5	et al.,
6	Plaintiffs, DOCKET NO. 1:17-cv-58
7	VS.
8	WELLOGG COMMINITEN COLLEGE
9	KELLOGG COMMUNITY COLLEGE, et al.,
10	Defendants.
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13	TRANSCRIPT OF PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION
14	BEFORE THE HONORABLE ROBERT J. JONKER
15	UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE
16	GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN
17	August 1, 2017
18	
19	Court Reporter: Glenda Trexler
20	Official Court Reporter United States District Court
21	685 Federal Building 110 Michigan Street, N.W.
22	Grand Rapids, Michigan 49503
23	Proceedings reported by stenotype, transcript produced by
24	computer-aided transcription.
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                                       August 1, 2017
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                                        3:32 p.m.
                          PROCEEDINGS
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               THE COURT: All right. We're here on the case of the
     Young Americans for Liberty against Kellogg Community College.
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     It's 1:17-cv-58. A hearing on the plaintiffs' motion for
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preliminary injunction.

Let's start with appearances and go from there.

MR. BARHAM: Your Honor, my name is Travis Barham. I represent plaintiffs. With me today is Casey Mattox and Jeshua Lauka.

THE COURT: Okay. Thank you.

MS. NORRIS: Megan Norris on behalf of defendants.

THE COURT: Okay. So we obviously have had your materials now on file for a while, and both sides have submitted some declarations or affidavits. So I think we have a record on which we can proceed today. If it becomes clear that we need actual testimony to resolve critical factual disputes, I think that will probably come up in the course of the argument.

What I really want to start with, amongst the plaintiffs' motion, is just to get a few things from the defendants' perspective, and then we can go to a more normal argument.

But I'm surprised in a way that Kellogg Community
College wants to defend the current policy on its own written
terms. I mean, the brief, at least as I read it, tries to
defend some of it but also seems to slide by some of the actual
text of the policy and say, "Well, we don't really do it that
way." And it would seem like, to me anyway, to say "Well, on
the one hand our policy says we're content-neutral, can't take

content into account, but on the other hand, in order to get the permit you need to be consistent with the mission of the university or student group." It's almost in dissidence. I don't see how you can have no consideration of content if consistency with mission is one of the requirements.

More generally, how a policy that flat-out prohibits solicitation without prior permit, when solicitation is so broad as to include pretty much anything students might want to talk about amongst each other, it strikes me that, you know, it's got that 1984 aura. You know, it's okay to speak, but only if the government gives you permission first.

And it may be that the parties are divided on much more fundamental things than that, but I guess at the outset, what is so important to the defendant about this policy as opposed to some of the others we've seen? The Grand Valley policy, for example, most recently changed. That still, of course, recognizes the defendant's need and right to manage groups in a way that doesn't put anybody in jeopardy physically, safety, all that matters. But, seriously, I mean, do you need this policy to do it? What about this policy do you see as so important that you don't want to modify it in any way? So let me start out with that, and then we'll go to more conventional orders.

MS. NORRIS: Sure. Certainly, Your Honor. So, first of all, I believe I said publicly in this court the last time I

was here in April, and certainly said repeatedly at the settlement conference that you directed us to with our request, the college has never said it refuses to change anything about the policy. We had an extensive settlement conference. We had extensive discussions with the magistrate about --

THE COURT: Right. But I guess -- and I don't need to know all the details of your settlement. But I guess today the question is: Do I enjoin your policy as written? That's what you're talking about. So as a practical matter today you have to defend that policy.

MS. NORRIS: So I don't have any problem defending the policy. I think the question of whether we're willing to make any changes to the policy is an entirely different question from whether it's a legal policy.

THE COURT: Let me ask you questions. How do you defend the idea that it's content-neutral when consistency with mission is one of the things that you have to find? How can you do that without considering content?

MS. NORRIS: Well, as discussed in many of the
cases --

THE COURT: Well, how do you do that here? I mean, the cases go both ways. I mean, I don't see anything that's so specifically good for you in the case law that -- don't you just as a practical matter have to consider mission -- or content if mission consistency is the touchstone?

MS. NORRIS: No, I don't think that you do. 1 THE COURT: How can you do that? How do you know if 2 it's consistent with the mission if you don't consider content? 3 MS. NORRIS: So, for example, if you have a condensed 4 campus, as Kellogg Community College does, where most of the 5 student traffic is in a fairly condensed area, and you say our 6 7 primary mission is to get students to classes, get students educated, get students to the offices where they want to get, 8 you can say we don't want to congest up those areas with group 9 activities. 10 THE COURT: Well, that's different. I mean, 11 that's -- that's discussing the volume of people, or you can 12 prohibit people from blocking sidewalks or doorways. But if 13 you're saying in your policy -- and it seems to say it -- that 14 15 to get the permit you have to be consistent with the college's mission or the mission of a recognized student group, how do 16 you judge that without looking at the content of what the 17 speaker wants to say? 18 I think I've just given you one example. 19 MS. NORRIS: I don't think that it matters at all whether it's 20 American Express coming in to solicit for credit cards --21 THE COURT: All right. But, I mean, if that's your 22 23 argument, you're going to lose on that, because --MS. NORRIS: I hear you --24 25 THE COURT: -- because there's no way that I can read

that policy fairly and say, "Well, what mission consistency means is crowd control." I mean, give me a break. There's all kinds of ways to manage crowd control that don't require you to say a speaker has to be consistent with the mission of the university.

MS. NORRIS: With all due respect, Your Honor, I agree with you the cases go both ways, and I'm prepared to address the cases when you want me to do that. But many of the cases, many of the cases involve a policy that has exactly the mission language we have, and the reason is that if you're --

there's differences as well between outside groups that come and students who want to speak. Or students who want to connect up with an organization that wants to speak. And at least in this case you have existing students who are interested in this particular speech. So, I mean, I think you're in the weakest possible position when you're talking about requiring your students to come forward and restrict mission. A lot of the cases that are on their surface more supportive of you are simply applied to outside groups that don't have any connection to the school through students.

MS. NORRIS: There certainly is a different standard for students versus outside groups, I agree with the Court on that issue. But if an entity is going to declare itself something other than a traditional public forum like a sidewalk

where anybody can walk up and down the street or sit in the park or wherever, one of the things it has to do, and the cases regarding universities specifically talk about, is it has to say we're only going to be a forum for things that are consistent with our mission. And so that statement is not a throw-away or a mistaken statement. But that is not to say that the content or the position taken by the speaker is a factor that is considered.

THE COURT: I just don't see logically how you can possibly judge mission consistency without knowing what the speaker -- without looking at the content of the speech.

Maybe, as you suggest, you never decline it because of a speaker content, but on the face of the policy, how do you -- I just don't understand logically how that can be.

MS. NORRIS: This particular group was specifically told that on that day in question they could have permission to solicit. They chose not to go through the process. But to -- otherwise to have otherwise --

which is how can you really defend a policy that says you can't have any solicitation without prior permission? Why isn't that just the Orwellian 1984? You know, two students start talking about Rand Paul and they want to get other students to see their vision. Technically that falls within your solicitation policy. You can say, "Well, it really doesn't," but at least

the language of the policy covers that. So you'd have no 1 spontaneous communication at all. And I just find that 2 astonishing. 3 MS. NORRIS: As I've indicated, Your Honor, these 4 policies have been upheld going back to the Supreme Court 5 6 case --7 THE COURT: Well, tell me -- unless you can tell me there's something that compels me to -- you know, like a 8 9 controlling authority, don't talk too much about other cases right now. How do you defend that? I mean, do you really want 10 to be in the paper saying "Yeah, we arrest people who pass out 11 12 Constitutions on our campus without our prior permission"? mean, that's your optics. That's a terrible optical position 13 for you to be in, isn't it? 14 15 MS. NORRIS: I agree that that's bad publicity for the college. Absolutely. But that isn't the story. 16 THE COURT: Well, I mean, it's certainly the story 17 the plaintiff tells in their sworn affidavit. 18 MS. NORRIS: It is certainly the story --19 THE COURT: And what's wrong with that story? 20 were passing out Constitutions without your prior permission 21 and they got arrested for it. 22 23 MS. NORRIS: They were not just passing out Constitutions, they were soliciting students, and the college 24 25 received a complaint from a student about being solicited.

THE COURT: All right. I think you've got real problems trying to defend the policy as written on these facts. And I don't understand why you want to. That's really what I wanted to hear at first. You know, because it just seems to me you invite needless bad publicity.

You certainly have, as any school does, the right to prevent people from blocking the doors and all that sort of thing, but that's not the way your policy reads to me.

At least on paper.

But why don't we hear from the plaintiffs, spend about 15 minutes summarizing yours. We'll hear from Ms. Norris for her formal argument in response. And any rebuttal that the plaintiff has. If each side overall takes about 20 or 25 minutes, I think we can get the focal point of what each side's positions are and then go from there. Thank you.

MR. BARHAM: Good afternoon, Your Honor. May it please the Court. As you mentioned, we're here today on plaintiffs' motion for preliminary injunction seeking to enjoin defendants' speech permit and speech zone policies that require students to get a permit to engage in any expressive activities. And these policies prohibit students from engaging in those activities anywhere outdoors. In enforcing those policies, defendants threatened to arrest Mr. Withers and arrested Mrs. Gregoire because they stood on a sidewalk, engaged students in conversation, collected signatures, and

handed out copies of the Constitution.

In 2012 the University of Cincinnati did something very similar to another chapter of Young Americans for Liberty, and when those students also sought to collect signatures the university restricted those students to one corner of one quad on campus, required them to get a permit, and threatened to arrest them if they went anywhere else to exercise their First Amendment rights.

In 2012 the Southern District of Ohio issued a preliminary injunction prohibiting the university from requiring students to give that prior notice, prohibiting them from requiring students to limit their activities to certain areas of campus, and prohibiting them from imposing any policy restricting student speech in the outdoor generally accessible areas of campus unless they could prove it would pass strict scrutiny.

This case involves similar policies and more egregious facts and, therefore, plaintiffs respectfully request that this Court do likewise. After all, in a couple of weeks students, including Mrs. Gregoire, will return to campus. The policies that led to her arrest remain in effect, curtailing her ability to recruit students and banning student speech outdoors.

Even after being sued, even after being directed to policies that would correct the constitutional flaws here, even

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after we provided them a model policy, and even after a settlement conference defendants have refused to change these policies and, therefore, an injunction is necessary.

Your Honor, as you have noted, these policies are inherently content- and viewpoint-based because they require school officials to assess whether or not speech is consistent with the mission and purpose of KCC. And one can just look at the mission and purpose statement to see just how much leeway there is for viewpoint discrimination. After all defendants can stop students from speaking if they decide that student speech does not enrich our community for the lives of individual learners. They can ban speech if they decide it does not lead to enhanced employability, if it does not help students think critically, if it does not demonstrate global awareness, if it does not promote, support, and enhance student success. All of these are inherently content- and viewpoint-based assessments that require university officials or college officials to look at the content of what students are saying to determine whether or not it can be allowed on campus.

And, therefore, the empty words that are included in the policy that the college does not take in considering content are just that, empty words. And we have evidence here of how defendants enforce this policy in a content-based way. They sat there and watched our client speak. They watched them

ask questions of students. Questions like "Do you like freedom and liberty?" And they decided that those questions were provocative, and because those questions were provocative they could not be allowed on an open sidewalk on campus.

And even just now opposing counsel mentions that this is content-based enforcement because she mentioned that the college acted because it received a complaint from students.

Well, the Supreme Court ruled in 1992 that listeners' reaction to speech is not a content-neutral basis for regulation.

And Defendant Hutchinson said that he was acting to protect certain students from hearing things that he didn't think they had -- that they felt like they could just walk past. Well, the Constitution does not empower government officials to protect people from certain types of speech. The essence of free speech is that those messages should be allowed to be promulgated on campus. So there's no way to avoid the fact that this is a content- and viewpoint-based policy. And, frankly, that alone is sufficient reason for this Court to strike down the policy and to issue the requested injunction.

And as this Court noted, the policy is an incredibly broad prior restraint. You cannot engage in any expression on campus without getting prior permission. That is repeated at least two or three times in the policy. On page ID 100, page ID 105, page ID 126 all say that you have to get prior permission in order to solicit on campus. And the definition

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of solicitation involves a broad swath of protected classic forms of protected speech. So it's hard to imagine how defendants could have written this policy to be any more broad. There's definite overbreadth problems with this policy.

Opposing counsel mentions their concern about crowd control and congestion. Well, the Williams court dealt with very similar arguments, and it noted that there was nothing preventing the college from imposing policies that address that congestion and traffic concern. If a policy is going to be narrowly tailored to address traffic, then it needs to target and eliminate no more than the exact source of the evil it seeks to remedy. But the problem with the policies here is that they burden far more speech. Two people standing on a sidewalk discussing Senator Paul do not block access to classes. Two people standing on a sidewalk discussing Senator Paul don't block entrances and exits to buildings. Two people standing on a campus handing out copies of the Constitution do not seriously block access to education. There's no way that one can seriously maintain that that's the case.

So all of that is -- it's almost -- it's almost hyperbolic, but it's the same kind of argument that the University of Cincinnati set forward and that did not pass muster there. It's the same sort of argument that the university in Roberts versus Haragan set forth, and it didn't

pass muster there. So it shouldn't pass muster here either.

The policy is overbroad. The policy restricts student speech all over campus, all over places that are unquestionably designated public forums for student speech.

And none of the cases that defendants cite in their brief, none of the cases that they allude to here change the fact that a university campus is a designated public forum for student speech. Every court that has addressed a speech zone case dealing with student speech -- not outsider speech but student speech -- has held that these areas are designated public forum.

In fact, the Williams court makes this very clear, and it addresses one of the cases that opposing counsel cites in her brief. The Gilles case. It says "Gilles does not suggest nor is this court aware of any other precedent establishing that a public university may constitutionally designate its entire campus as a limited public forum."

So when opposing counsel says that they have to have this mission and purpose requirement in order to change the status of their campus, it's a futile effort. There is no federal court allowing a university to designate its entire campus as a limited public forum. Indeed, the Williams court says to declare the entire campus a limited public forum and to say that it's subject only to reasonableness and viewpoint neutrality, it would be anathema to the purpose of the

university, and so it shouldn't be allowed here either.

So the areas that our clients were trying to speak, like I said, open, outdoor, generally accessible areas, the areas that anybody can access at any time, those are limited -- those are designated public forums for students. Any restriction there has to be narrow, it has to be content-neutral, and this policy is not. It has to be narrowly tailored to a significant governmental interest, which this policy is not. And it has to allow ample alternative means of communication, and this policy allows none. In fact, opposing counsel's suggestion: Where can students speak without a permit? Go off campus. That's not an ample alternative means of communication when your intended audience is fellow students.

So with -- and then the problems are highlighted by the way that opposing -- that defendants enforce these policies. Making it clear that none of them really had a clear idea as to what was required, where they could speak, when they could speak, what they had to do in order to speak. So when university officials do not even understand what the policies are, then the Williams court says that the policy is vague on its face and must be enjoined.

None of the other interests that they have highlighted, whether it be traffic, whether it be litter, whether it be anything else, are narrowly tailored to this --

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these policies are not narrowly tailored to that. They don't need to ban student speech in all of campus unless you get a permit in order to prevent -- in order to make sure that students can get to classes. They already have -- in fact, they already have other policies that enable them to address these issues.

For example, the student code of conduct already prohibits intimidation. It already prohibits disruptive activities. It already prohibits endangerment. It already prohibits harassment. Those are all the things that they were just talking about. So they can achieve all of their legitimate interests in maintaining safety, in maintaining traffic flow on campus, and making sure that students can get to class on time without saying that students can only speak outdoors if they first get permission from school officials. Permission that, of course, can be denied for any reason whatsoever, because there is no guarantee in this policy that any request for a permit will be granted. You can satisfy all of the written criteria, you can even be consistent with KCC's mission and there's no quarantee that your request will be granted. Which is another reason that this policy is viewpoint- and content-based because it grants that unbridled discretion.

With that, Your Honor, I'll reserve the balance of my time.

THE COURT: All right. We'll go to Ms. Norris. Thank you.

MS. NORRIS: Your Honor, I've been in this court many times and I have a great deal of respect for your preparation. My first experience here was your very first Rule 16 conference in which you pointed out what you thought was a typo in a paragraph of my Answer, and I had to confess that I've never had a judge actually read my Answer before. So it turned out it wasn't a typo, I was right, and I was really pleased to tell you that, but the fact that you had gotten that deeply into the weeds was nonetheless impressive. So you've made it clear to me I have an uphill battle, but I would like to -- I feel strongly about my client's case, and my client feels strongly about its case, so I would like to give you some sense of why.

And I start by saying, as I did earlier, the question for today is not could Kellogg Community College have some other policy. Certainly there are lots of policies. We've cited many cases for you which have very similar policies. Some sort of differentiation between groups that are approved and off-site people that have no approval. Some differentiation between things that are planned and that you need to get permission for and other things. Some appeal process. Some restriction on time, place, and manner. We've cited many of those cases. So the question isn't could Kellogg Community College draft its policy to write up different

factors. The question is is the policy as it stands today unlawful? And I submit to you strongly that the answer is no.

First of all, as you well know, preliminary relief is extraordinary relief. The Sixth Circuit says no power the exercise of which is more delicate, requires greater caution, deliberation, is more dangerous in a doubtful case. That's the Detroit Newspaper Publishers case that we have cited. And the Sixth Circuit also says that while there's balancing factors, no one factor is controlling and it's not a checklist of factors. The sine qua non --

THE COURT: Let me just step aside from the factors.

I mean, those are pretty well-known and basic. I can't remember, do you have a son or daughter?

MS. NORRIS: I have a daughter.

THE COURT: Okay. Say your daughter is at Kellogg Community College and she and her friends start talking about politics and discover they both like Rand Paul.

MS. NORRIS: Uh-huh.

THE COURT: And they say, "You know what, this is important. Our country has got all kinds of things going on. We've got to go out there and tell our fellow students all about Rand Paul and get them to go, you know, campaign for libertarian ideals."

MS. NORRIS: Uh-huh.

THE COURT: Under your policy they can't do that

without seeking the prior permission of the administration. 1 MS. NORRIS: I disagree depending on how you 2 characterize go talk. And I think that our policy is here --3 THE COURT: Well, campaigning. Campaigning, being on 4 the sidewalk saying, "Hey, you know, Margaret, let me tell you 5 about Rand Paul. " That's campaigning. 6 7 MS. NORRIS: So I believe that the law holds that a university or a college or a school, unlike a public park, 8 9 unlike --THE COURT: So are you telling me you think it's okay 10 for a university to say "That kind of spontaneous political 11 12 speech can't happen without our prior permission"? You think that's constitutional? 13 MS. NORRIS: If what you're talking about is in the 14 open spaces --15 THE COURT: Yes. 16 17 MS. NORRIS: -- yes. THE COURT: Okay. So what case do you rely on for 18 that absolutely astonishing proposition in my view? 19 MS. NORRIS: Well, I rely on several. So, first of 20 all, the Bloedorn versus Grube case, the Georgia Southern 21 University case, it cites Widmar, which is the 22 23 U.S. Supreme Court case, and they specifically say that a designated public forum is created only when a school opens 24 25 facilities for indiscriminate use by the general public. A

limited public forum is when it's open for use by certain groups or dedicated solely to discussion of certain subjects. And these cases as well as the Southern case that we've cited all specifically talk about the university's mission, the importance of the university's mission. In Widmar, the Supreme Court case --

THE COURT: So do you have -- I understand there are cases that talk about what's a designated public forum, what's a limited public forum. But do you think you have any case that says it's okay for a university to flat-out prohibit what I've just described as that spontaneous student campaigning without a prior permit? We can go now on the diag at the University of Michigan. That's what the diag is all about at the University of Michigan. And I know your campus is smaller, but it's not like it's so small that a handful of students can't fit on the sidewalk and talk about common issues.

MS. NORRIS: I think that a university can have time,
place, and manner restrictions for that speech.

THE COURT: I'm not talking about time, place, and manner. I'm saying -- in my hypothetical those students can't go out and start talking about the politics of Rand Paul, the politics of Barack Obama, or Donald Trump, or anybody in a campaign way or in a way to promote their views without your prior permission.

MS. NORRIS: I think the university could say if you

want to have that kind of speech, you can do it between these hours and these hours and this section of the campus.

THE COURT: All right. Well, even that's not asking for prior permission. Now that's different. You're saying, fine, you can't have that speech after midnight.

MS. NORRIS: Right.

THE COURT: I'm not talking about that. I'm saying without prior permission they can't go out and do that until they ask you for your permission. That's what your policy says, doesn't it?

MS. NORRIS: Right. But so do other cases that we've
cited. Southern has a prior permission policy.

THE COURT: For any speech that involves students getting together spontaneously to promote some political ideal?

MS. NORRIS: Well, you're using the words "get together spontaneously." If my daughter -- who happens to be reasonably politically aware and active and went to a pretty politically aware and active school -- if my daughter wants to go to the floor below hers and talk to the women on that floor about her political beliefs, they can kick her out if they want, it's their dorm room. She is certainly welcome to go do that. And they are certainly welcome to kick her out. If she wants to sit in the library with three students sitting around chairs and they want to talk amongst themselves and they want to say "You know, we think these other people might be

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interested, " so they go talk to them and those people say
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     "We're not interested," I think the university can prohibit
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     them from approaching people that say --
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               THE COURT: Well, can they -- but the thing you're
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     not really answering, to me anyway, your policy, I think,
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     fairly read says they can't go out whether they are in the
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     library or on the sidewalk and make that pitch without prior
     permission.
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               MS. NORRIS: So "solicitation" is defined in our
     policy.
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               THE COURT: Right. I mean, I have it highlighted.
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               MS. NORRIS: Right. "Solicitation" is defined. So I
     do think it includes approaching other people who may not want
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     to be approached. I don't think it includes just the talking
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     that you discuss.
               THE COURT: So your answer is they can't do that
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     without your prior permission.
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               MS. NORRIS: I think that's right.
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               THE COURT: And I find that an astonishing
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     interpretation of the First Amendment. And I'm still looking
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     for the case that says that. There's a policy that says that
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     kind of spontaneous discussion can't happen without the prior
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     permission of the school. I mean, that sounds like, you know,
     1984 to me.
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               MS. NORRIS: Well, the cases that I'm aware of have
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not specifically said spontaneous discussion cannot happen, but I have cited cases, including Southern, which say that you have to have prior permission to solicit on a campus.

THE COURT: All right. But at least you're comfortable defending the policy if it applies to spontaneous discussion like that, spontaneous approach to say, "Hey, let me tell you why I love Rand Paul and you should too"?

MS. NORRIS: If it's done in the public areas that the school says you need permission to solicit in, yes, I am.

THE COURT: All right.

MS. NORRIS: I think that the policy of the school is
clear about what kind of --

THE COURT: Well, the policy of the school is clear, but so is the policy of the Soviet Union in the days of the Soviet Union. It doesn't make it First Amendment-compliant.

MS. NORRIS: I think that's where we get to the
mission of the school. There are schools --

THE COURT: Isn't that inherently content-generated?

I mean, that gets back to that. If it's only okay to go out and talk without prior permission if you're consistent with the mission of the school, you could do that in Tiananmen Square because the government is perfectly happy to have you speak if they think you're speaking consistent with their mission, but the real test, isn't it, is when you're speaking in a way that might be contrary to what the school thinks is its mission.

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MS. NORRIS: Some of the cases we've cited, Your Honor, specifically talk about you can go off the campus to do that. I think that if you're the University of Michigan, we'll call that school A for a minute, and you're Kellogg Community College, those are very different schools with very different missions. I think the University of Michigan would say that part of its mission is a residential life that includes lots of things, including perhaps exactly the kinds of discussions you're talking about. That's not Kellogg Community College's mission. THE COURT: You don't think the campus is at least

for students a designated public forum?

MS. NORRIS: No, I think it's a limited public forum.

THE COURT: So the university, in your view, or the community college, has the right to just -- as long as it's content-neutral, we can debate that -- clamp down on anything that happens, any speech by students or otherwise?

MS. NORRIS: I think you can have reasonable time, place, and manner restrictions.

THE COURT: Well, no, that's different. Reasonable time -- nobody disputes that you can have reasonable time, place, and manner. Absolutely. The question is whether once you get to the stage of saying you can't speak or solicit in the way I was describing without our prior permission, you know, you've gone beyond that to essentially prior restraint.

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And, anyway, I'm still looking for the case. What I hear you
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     saying is there are cases that talk about solicitation
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     generally, nothing that you would say focuses specifically on
     what I'm talking about as spontaneous speech.
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               MS. NORRIS: I'm not aware of a case that
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     specifically talks about spontaneous speech one way or the
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     other, Your Honor. That's correct.
               There is one case I would like to bring to your
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     attention.
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               THE COURT: All right.
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               MS. NORRIS: It does not talk about spontaneous
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     speech specifically. What it does do, though -- it's a
     lower-court decision, it's not controlling on this Court -- but
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     what it does do is it talks about the several different circuit
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     positions that have been taken and the differences in those
     circuits and comes to what it believes is a rational
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     conclusion. And it's a brand-new case. It's Keister,
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     K-E-I-S-T-E-R, versus Bell. And it's 2017 Westlaw 878403.
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     It's a March 6th, 2017, case. And in that case what
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     the court --
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               THE COURT: What jurisdiction? I'm sorry.
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               MS. NORRIS: It's Northern District of Alabama.
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               THE COURT: Thank you.
               MS. NORRIS: In that case the court discussed the
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     McGlone case, the Bloedorn case, and other circuit cases and
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talked about the differences in them and noted that in many of those cases the space that's at issue is tangential to city streets. It's perimeter, sidewalks, that kind of space. And agreed that that sort of space would be treated differently from the internal campus space.

At Kellogg Community College, if you look at a map, which has been -- it's an exhibit that both parties, I think, have probably provided you -- the buildings are very close together. There's parking lot space around them and then there's open space elsewhere. The space that students want to speak is the space where students are. Makes sense. Where students are is in that closed, congested space.

THE COURT: But as the policy reads it would also apply in Parking Lot F along Roosevelt Avenue or the soccer field or anywhere else. Right?

MS. NORRIS: Well, I think the soccer field and the parking lot are a little bit different than Roosevelt Avenue.

THE COURT: Yeah, but your policy doesn't make any differentiation about that. I mean, you still need prior permission before you go to any of those locations, don't you?

MS. NORRIS: I don't think that Roosevelt Avenue would be considered just the college's space, so I don't know that that would be subject --

THE COURT: Well, your definition of campus. Not Roosevelt Avenue. You were just talking about areas along it.

Parking Lot F is along it, right?

MS. NORRIS: I think the school would be well-advised to prohibit -- to prohibit speech in the middle of the parking lot. I think they have got good safety reasons.

THE COURT: I'm just saying you can focus on the individual buildings that are clustered, but the policy as written applies universally to every corner of your campus. I mean, there's no place on campus where you can speak without prior permission as a student.

MS. NORRIS: Again, I quarrel with your use of the
word "speak." This is a solicitation policy.

THE COURT: Well, if you're speaking in a way that promotes, campaigns ideas, political ideas, you're within solicitation, aren't you? I guess if you're speaking to say "Show me where the bathroom is" that's not covered. But if you're out there saying "We like Rand Paul, you should too," "We like Barack Obama, you should too," talk to me about the ACA, I mean, maybe that's not what you mean by campaign, which is one of your subsets of speech or solicitation, but how do you know unless you ask? And that's the whole overbreadth problem.

You know, we're -- the First Amendment is supposed to be promoting the expression of ideas, not restricting and chilling. And I'm saying the breadth of the definition of "solicit" certainly seems to cover all those kinds of

expressions and political ideas that are designed to draw somebody else to your point of view.

MS. NORRIS: That's assuming that that's what Kellogg Community College wants to support. What Kellogg Community College is trying to do is educate students who are primarily -- none of them are residential students. The students are often working, raising families. They are not 18-to 22-year-olds who are looking for a significant co-curricular experience outside of the classroom. Many schools that's as much a part of what you pay for as the classroom. That's not Kellogg Community College's mission. Its mission is its community and its community is different from a large university.

So it would be against the law, I agree, for Kellogg Community College to say it matters whether you're campaigning for Rand Paul or Bernie Sanders. That would be against the law. It would be against the law to say you can't have political speech but you can have fundraising for the March of Dimes speech. That would be against the law. It doesn't do any of those things. It doesn't do any of those things. What it says is we're going to restrict when and where and how people have something that's not the conversation with the roommate, that's not the conversation over the lunch table --

THE COURT: Let me ask you, is soliciting funds for contributions to Kellogg Community itself consistent with the

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mission?
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               MS. NORRIS: You mean Kellogg Community College
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     raising money?
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               THE COURT: Yeah. Like if students want to go out
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     and say "We love Kellogg Community College, you should
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     contribute to it, " that you would say is consistent with your
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     mission?
               MS. NORRIS: I think if students were fundraising on
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     the campus --
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               THE COURT: Well, what if they are fundraising for
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     Kalamazoo Valley Community College?
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               MS. NORRIS: I think if they were fundraising for
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     either one on the campus, they would be subject to the policy.
               THE COURT: Either one?
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               MS. NORRIS: Yeah. I don't think it matters if it's
     for us or for somebody else. I would agree that that would be
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     treated the same.
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               THE COURT: All right.
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               MS. NORRIS: Right. I mean, I understand --
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               THE COURT: What if you're fundraising for an
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     organization that's against community colleges or public
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     education?
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               MS. NORRIS: I think if you're content-neutral,
     you're content-neutral.
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               THE COURT: And that's consistent with the mission of
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the university?

MS. NORRIS: I think their mission -- as some of the cases we've cited say -- including the Widmar case -- the purpose of a college isn't necessarily speech, whereas the purpose of having a public area like a park may be speech. The purpose -- the primary purpose of Kellogg Community College is to educate its students, and it gets to decide how it thinks that's best done. And if --

activities on campus are permitted only when the activities support the mission of Kalamazoo" -- or I'm sorry -- "of Kellogg Community College or the mission of a recognized college entity or activity." And I know it later says we're not looking at the content. But how do you understand that sentence in a way that doesn't look at content? I mean, how can you support the mission of Kellogg Community College or not apart from the content of the speech?

MS. NORRIS: Well, the stated purpose of the policy I
indicated earlier.

THE COURT: No, no, but how do you interpret that sentence? I mean, you told me earlier that that meant it involved, you know, basically crowd control.

MS. NORRIS: Right. Which is what the policy says.

THE COURT: But that sentence "Soliciting activities are permitted only when the activities support the mission of

Kalamazoo Community College [sic] " and you're saying there's no content at all involved in that?

MS. NORRIS: Right. So the stated purpose of the
policy -- I mean, I realize you don't think this is sufficient
and you're the judge, but the stated --

THE COURT: So you could delete that sentence and have the same policy because elsewhere you talk about crowd control?

MS. NORRIS: That's -- in settlement discussions we discussed that, Your Honor. But there were other things we discussed in settlement discussions that were not acceptable to us that have nothing to do with the content of the policy.

THE COURT: All right.

MS. NORRIS: The stated purpose of the policy is to ensure an atmosphere conducive to learning, reasonable conduct of business, unobstructed access to the college for its students, faculty, employees, occupants, the public, and maintenance of the grounds. Those are legitimate purposes.

And they are stated. They are not in someone's mind. They are not, you know, subject to the whim of somebody. Those are the stated purposes of the policy.

The mission, which is on our website, which we've cited for you, talks about it's to educate people. That's the mission. And how Kellogg Community College chooses to do that is up to the college so long as it does not prohibit speech on

the basis of content. And there's simply no evidence here that it does.

THE COURT: You know Mao Tse-tung said the same thing in the cultural revolution, right? I mean, isn't that the big problem? That, you know, we can talk in generic generalities about promoting education and all of that. I mean, that's what the cultural revolution said too. The problem is putting that in the hands of government as opposed to the governed. I mean, that's what the First Amendment is all about. And here the governed, the students, only get to say things out loud, campaign, if the government first says okay.

MS. NORRIS: So if a student decided that they are going to solicit for a credit card company and every student that walked into the student center, you know, got greeted by somebody who is trying to solicit for a credit card company, it's your position that the college would have no ability to stop that?

THE COURT: I didn't say that. I'm saying -- MS. NORRIS: But I don't see the difference.

THE COURT: Well, then you can make that argument.

And you can write a policy that addresses that concern instead of saying all prior speech has to be approved and allowed by us. No speech until we approve it, you know, if it falls within the definition of solicitation. I mean, that's the problem from my perspective. You may have very legitimate

interests at all kinds of edges of both traffic control, crowd control, safety, and maybe other things as well. Commercial advertising. But the policy isn't written in that way. It's written to cover all solicitation. And that includes core First Amendment speech. Political speech. I mean, core. And I just find it astonishing that the government gets to say in advance before students spontaneously get together and talk about politics in a way that tries to persuade their fellow students that the government gets to say yes or no first. That strikes me as incredible.

MS. NORRIS: I suppose -- I obviously disagree with your comparisons to China and the Soviet Union, but I suppose it's certainly true that any policy, no matter how worded, the proof of the pudding is in the implementation of the policy.

And --

THE COURT: Generally. But in First Amendment the overbreadth analysis says we're so concerned about chilling speech that when you have a policy that could tread on the perimeter, you know, the policy falls. That precision is so important, you know. So I think in First Amendment context that's a qualified statement.

MS. NORRIS: But the cases -- there are actually cases, and we've cited them, which say -- there was one where a preacher -- a number of these cases involve evangelists -- and there was one where a preacher was concerned about the policy,

wasn't clear -- he thought it was overly broad, wasn't clear whether he would be allowed to speak under that policy. So he wrote a letter and asked if he would be allowed to speak. And he got a letter back and the answer was, "Yes, this day, this time, you can speak to your heart's content." And so he then made the overbreadth argument, and the court said, no, he had no reason to believe it was overly broad. These plaintiffs in this case --

THE COURT: Well, the preacher is not a student in that case.

MS. NORRIS: Well, interestingly, the one student who was a student has not signed an affidavit regarding irreparable harm, is not here, and was not at the mandatory settlement conference. So the student that has been --

THE COURT: He was the one who left before the others got arrested?

MS. NORRIS: Correct. But the others were not
students.

THE COURT: Well, the one has been a student before and after and was part of the group that was trying to get student recognition.

MS. NORRIS: To say that she was a student after is to fast forward history. At the time these decisions were made, she was a former student of the community college. She had taken classes and now she was not taking classes and she

was not a student.

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So I think that it does matter that these plaintiffs here tried the policy and were granted permission under the Michelle Gregoire applied for permission to speak, to policy. solicit, was allowed to solicit, and simply didn't feel that it was effective enough. And she wasn't banished to the hinterlands of the campus. She wasn't banished to where there were no students. She was allowed to solicit in the student center, the busiest, most desirable place to solicit. She was allowed to solicit there and it wasn't good enough. So they intentionally -- they weren't denied permission at any time. And on the day in question they were told multiple times, you know, "We're not -- we treat everybody else this way. We're not going to treat them differently. You have to go sign up. You sign up and you can stand out here and do this. Here are the places you can do it." And they chose not to do that.

So I don't think this is an overbreadth issue. I don't think this is an interpretation-of-the-policy issue. They knew exactly what the policy was. They knew exactly how the policy worked. They had been granted permission under the policy. And they chose not to do that here.

My family is pretty politically active. My father was thrown in jail for civil disobedience. One of the ramifications of civil disobedience is exactly that. If you want to bring attention to your cause, there are ways to do

that that include breaking the law, but then you pay the penalty.

THE COURT: But the difference between most civil disobedience cases is things like blocking a doorway, occupying an office, versus standing on a sidewalk.

MS. NORRIS: Well, he was arrested in Selma, Alabama,
for standing on a sidewalk.

THE COURT: But here people were arrested for standing on the sidewalk passing out Constitutions without prior permission of the university.

MS. NORRIS: Right. They were arrested for
soliciting people without permission and they don't want to pay
the penalty for that.

My father did not sue the state of Alabama. He was well-informed about what he was doing.

THE COURT: That's because the prosecutor dismissed the charge, right? Because the prosecutor wasn't going to argue to a jury or a judge that passing out Constitutions violates the criminal law. I mean, isn't that really --

MS. NORRIS: We can have a discussion about what motivates a prosecutor at that time and that place. I disagree. But it is our position that the college has the ability to manage where the people are and manage how the people interact with the people who are trying to take the classes. Not on a content-based. Not on which side of the

thing you're on. Not on whether it's political or not political. Not on any content-based, but simply on a how you approach our students who are trying to get their education. And I think they have the permission -- the authority to do that. I have not seen any law that says that they can't do that.

THE COURT: Okay. Nobody has talked about this aspect of the policy that I recall, but to me it underscores the breadth of what Kellogg Community College is trying to do on speech. And it's Part 4, the off-campus solicitation. So if you get to be a recognized college entity and you desire to conduct solicitation off-campus, you first have to coordinate with the government too. Seriously?

MS. NORRIS: If you're doing it under the auspices of
the campus, yes.

THE COURT: So the price is if you want to become recognized, you can't even take your group, you can't take students or whatever this group is into the coffeehouse downtown without first getting the permission of the government.

MS. NORRIS: I have not asked them any questions about how that's been enforced.

THE COURT: No, I'm not talking about how it's enforced. I'm talking about how it's written. I mean, that's how it's written, right? You have to coordinate -- must

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coordinate those activities with a student life office prior to commencing the activities. MS. NORRIS: If you're acting as a student group under the banner of the college. THE COURT: Well, under the banner of the student group, right? MS. NORRIS: Yes, but it's a Kellogg Community College student group. It's not -- it's not --THE COURT: Doesn't that just strike you -- I mean, do you really want this in the press? Come to Kalamazoo -- or to Kellogg Community College because you can't speak about politics until we give you permission on or off campus? just strikes me as an astonishing position for a college to take. MS. NORRIS: I think the position is we want you to come to Kellogg Community College because you can get done here what you need to get done while you have jobs and other things that people at large universities usually don't have to deal

come to Kellogg Community College because you can get done here what you need to get done while you have jobs and other things that people at large universities usually don't have to deal with. The students here -- there's a reason why there's not a lot of success soliciting in the student hall, because that's not where the students usually want to be. They want to get their work done and get home or get to their jobs. And I think the college is allowed to give them that environment.

And we can argue about whether that's a good mission or a bad mission, but it's a mission that the college has

chosen, and I think they are allowed to do that.

THE COURT: Okay. Thank you.

Any rebuttal?

MR. BARHAM: Briefly, Your Honor. Your Honor repeatedly asked for precedent allowing a university to impose such a broad prior restraint on student speech, and opposing counsel failed to cite one single case dealing with student speech. Bloedorn is an Eleventh Circuit case dealing with an off-campus street preacher. The Keister case that she cited from the Northern District of Alabama, also a street preacher case. Neither of which dealt with students.

Here we are before this Court on a preliminary injunction. There is no question that one of -- that the policy was applied to students in September of 2016 when Mr. Withers was threatened with arrest. There's no question that Mrs. Gregoire is going to be a student -- was a student this past spring, is going to be a student this fall, and will be subject to the policy.

Your Honor also asked for precedent where a university was allowed to say that you must support our mission in order to speak on campus. Sure, there's language in court cases talking about a school's educational mission, but there is no case -- and opposing counsel cited to none -- allowing a university to say that students must support the mission of the college or the university in order to speak on campus.

Opposing counsel indicated that -- disputed the definition of spontaneous speech. Well, in an era where news is being driven by tweets, it is imperative that students be allowed to speak spontaneously, otherwise their speech will lose its effectiveness. There's a case out of Colorado cited in our brief that talks about how the timing of speech is a fundamental First Amendment value.

Opposing counsel indicated that defendants are trying to confine student speech to the area that they think is the most desirable. And that gets to one of the fundamental issues in this case. They have set the entire outdoor areas of campus off-limits to student speech and have instead limited that to information tables inside the student center. Well, defendants don't get to decide what is the most desirable spot for student speech. That is a matter that an individual student speaker can make a value judgment as to what's in the best interests of their group. So if they want to speak in the open, generally accessible areas of campus, the areas that are unquestionably designated public forum, then unless they are violating a policy that's narrowly tailored to a significant governmental interest, they have the right to do so.

And that's the fundamental disconnect between the law and defendant's mind-set of here are the places where you can speak. No. In the designated -- in the public outdoor areas of campus, the areas where our students want to speak, that's

where the law says they get to speak. Roberts versus Haragan says it's the irreducible public forum areas that must be open to student speech. The university can designate more, but they can't designate less.

This case is so -- the -- opposing counsel questioned Mr. Withers. Mr. Withers has provided an affidavit. That's called a verified complaint. And so he has provided testimony here. And there's no question that he was a student, that he was trying to speak when he was threatened with arrest, which is the classic First Amendment legal injury.

Opposing counsel -- Your Honor mentioned the components of the policy that require KCC's permission in order to solicit off-campus, and opposing counsel said, "Yes, if you're operating under the auspices of KCC, that's what's required." Well, the only problem with that is the Rosenberger case from the Supreme Court made it clear that student organizations are not arms of the college or university with which they are affiliated. They are private entities. And so there's no way for the university to say, "Well, you're speaking on our behalf and, therefore, we can control your speech even off-campus."

The other examples that opposing counsel has provided of restrictions that would be potentially problematic such as students trying to speak in the library or in the dorm or in the student hall, not applicable to this case because in this

case what we're trying to do is speak on the sidewalk. Speak in the outdoor areas of campus. And, therefore, Your Honor, we would request that this Court issue an injunction modeled after the one issued by the Williams court invalidating the speech permit and speech zone policies challenged here and prohibiting KCC officials from imposing any restrictions that are not narrowly tailored to a significant governmental interest on student speech in the public outdoor areas of campus.

THE COURT: What's your position in this case or organizationally on commercial solicitations like the credit card offer hypothetical Ms. Norris puts?

MR. BARHAM: I believe, Your Honor, that there is authority allowing a university to impose a different set of requirements on commercial solicitation. And in fact, most of the universities that I have looked into, they have a separate policy for commercial solicitation, or they define solicitation only to apply to commercial sorts of transactions. That's one of the notable aspects of this policy is that it is so broad. The definition of "solicitation" covers so much protected speech that has no bearing whatsoever on commercial transactions.

THE COURT: And then the March case, the Keister against Bell, do you know the case and do you have any position on it one way or the other today?

MR. BARHAM: I am not intimately familiar with the

case, Your Honor, but from what we were able to gather just sitting at counsel table just now, it also involves an off-campus street preacher and, therefore, is not determinative of the kind of forum or the types of restrictions that are permissible on student speech. Instead the most directly on-point case is that Williams case dealing with, you know, another chapter of Young Americans for Liberty that was facing similar, if not identical, policy restrictions and where they were subject to the same threats of arrest that were actually carried out against our students.

THE COURT: Okay. Thank you.

MR. BARHAM: Thank you, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Ms. Norris, I'll give you five minutes to be uninterrupted and give me your best hold. Okay?

MS. NORRIS: I won't take that long, Your Honor.

Just a few things. I'll start with where you just finished.

There is nothing that would say that a student -- if

plaintiffs' position is to be granted, there's nothing to say

that commercial speech could be treated differently. If it's

an active student, an active student wants to solicit for a

credit card company, you know, to make some money on the side

or whatever it is, there's nothing that would prohibit them

from doing that. And even plaintiffs acknowledge that kind of

speech might not be as valuable as the kind of speech they are

talking about. Well, the minute you start talking about what

speech is valuable or not valuable, we're on the slippery slope that you decry.

Kellogg Community College is not having at the core of its mission speech in public places. Any kind of speech in public places. And it does not need to open itself up to that if it chooses not to do so.

The Southworth case, you can certainly read it, you probably have, but it specifically talks about the dangers of misinterpretation, or, you know, if you're not sure how a policy is going to be implemented, those sorts of things. And it talks about exact kinds of safeguards that the Kellogg policy has. Appeals process, those sorts of things. So that if there is abuse in the kind of, you know, Soviet or Chinese way that you have suggested, that there are remedies for that abuse baked into the policy.

And finally, time, place, and manner restrictions do matter. It's plaintiffs' position that defendant doesn't get to decide where speech can occur. And we've cited a great deal of law on that issue. I'd urge you to look specifically at the university cases that we've cited because they do talk about a different kind of public forum than the sorts of forums that have been talked about in a number of the other cases cited by plaintiffs. Unless you have other questions, that's all I have.

THE COURT: Okay. No. Thank you.

MR. BARHAM: Your Honor, may I respond briefly?

THE COURT: All right.

MR. BARHAM: The Southworth case does not control here in the sense that that was dealing with a student fee-funding forum, it was a limited public forum, and, therefore, is different than the designated public forums of the outdoor areas of campus. And the appeals process there was set forward with specific tight deadlines. Here there is no deadline. In fact, that's another of the problems with this prior restraint. There is no deadline on any decisions. The decisions must be made "as promptly as possible," to quote the policy. Well, as promptly as possible is not the brief specified time restriction that Freedman and the other prior restraint cases require. And there's a reason that KCC professors do not require students to submit work as promptly as possible but instead impose an actual specified deadline.

So unless Your Honor has further questions, thank you.

THE COURT: All right. Thank you both. We'll take it under advisement and issue a written opinion.

THE CLERK: All rise, please. Court is adjourned.

(Proceeding concluded at 4:33 p.m.)

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I certify that the foregoing is a correct transcript from the record of proceedings in the above-entitled matter.

I further certify that the transcript fees and format

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comply with those prescribed by the court and the Judicial
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     Conference of the United States.
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     Date: August 9, 2017
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                                  /s/ Glenda Trexler
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